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ABSTRACT

This research report summarizes data on six immigrant groups residing in the New York City borough of Queens: Colombians, Greeks, Italians, Koreans, Indians, and Israelis. Data on which this report is based include aggregate qualitative data, analysis of previous surveys, data from other projects and public agencies, and a review of scholarly and journalistic literature on immigration and ethnic communities, especially in New York City. The data suggest that unlike earlier waves of immigrants to New York, immigrants since 1965 have settled in the outlying boroughs rather than in the central core. Further, new immigrants in Queens tend to cluster geographically in a rather large, demarcated, multiethnic sector. Data on occupation in country of origin (drawn from records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and from case studies) indicate that new immigrants are well prepared to enter an urban setting in which the occupational structure is geared toward white collar, technical, and professional labor. However, the case studies show that there is a large gap between preparation, expectation, and actual experience; a majority of immigrants in the cases analyzed found employment only in the secondary labor market. Finally, a preliminary analysis of immigrant occupation and support systems indicates that the most self-conscious forms of ethnic identity are associated with higher socioeconomic status. (Author/GC)

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NEW IMMIGRANTS AND ETHNICITY:

A PRELIMINARY RESEARCH REPORT ON

IMMIGRANTS IN QUEENS

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THE ETHNIC STUDIES PROJECT

UD023206

Abstract

NEW IMMIGRANTS AND ETHNICITY

by

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Queens College, C.U.N.Y.

This research report summarizes data on six immigrant groups in Queens--Colombians, Greeks, Italians, Koreans, Asian Indians and Israelis. The research format centered on the collection of aggregate qualitative data, the refinement of the analysis of already completed survey material, collected data from other research and public agencies, and a review of the literature, both scholarly and journalistic, on immigration, ethnic communities, especially in New York City. The data suggests that, unlike earlier waves of immigrants to New York City, the immigrants of the post-1965 period have selected the outlying boroughs rather than the city's central core in which to settle. The distribution of new immigrants in Queens was that of a pattern of geographic cluster in a rather large, demarcated, but clearly multiethnic sector. Data on occupation in country of origin drawn from INS records and and case studies indicated that new immigrants are well-prepared to enter an urban setting in which the occupational structure is geared toward white-collar, technical and professional labor. However, the analysis of case histories strongly suggests that there is a large gap between preparation, expectation and actual experience. The majority of the cases analyzed found employment only in the secondary labor market. A preliminary analysis of immigrant occupation and support systems indicated that the most self-conscious forms of ethnic identity were associated with higher socioeconomic status.

UD023206

Preface

From its inception the major focus of the Ethnic Studies Research Project has been the shifts in the Queens population over the last 15 years, the impact these shifts have had on intergroup relations and the multi-faceted tensions that, unfortunately, seem to have accompanied these changes. The first 8 months of the project were devoted to designing, implementing and analyzing the results of a pilot study of six immigrant groups in the Borough so as to identify major social and research problems. An analysis of the trend data indicated several salient features of the immigrant populations: (1) That immigrants to Queens were being drawn from urban, occupationally middle-class and well educated backgrounds in the country of origin, and that their self-perceptions, attitudes and certain behavioral patterns indicated middle class status in the United States. (2) That while immigrants saw themselves as members of the middle class, ethnicity was an important element in their lives. Although the association of immigrant status with ethnicity is, and has been in the past, a commonly held view (but perhaps an overly simplified perspective), an association between middle class status and ethnicity has not been commonly drawn either in the scholarly literature or the minds of the public. In fact, just the opposite association is made (cf. Spiro, 1955). The disjunction between social class and ethnicity suggested that future research be directed toward identifying the reasons for this specific association. Two variables were presented as possible determining elements in the evident pattern of ethnic association. These were: (1) that fears of, or actual, confrontations with, other groups, fostered a form of self-segregation; or (2) that the existence of an ethnically

defined support system which met the peculiar and distinct needs of newcomers to U.S. society, promoted the development of segregated ethnic communities.

The temptation to design a test of statistical validity of these two hypotheses was great but was rejected as inappropriate for both theoretical and practical reasons. Briefly, these reasons can be summarized as follows: First, the concepts of both "social class" and "ethnicity" are exceedingly problematic as the vast social science literature on both topics clearly indicates and the working definitions used in the pilot study had to be refined. Second, survey research among immigrants had already proven to be difficult (and almost impossible among certain kinds of immigrants), time consuming and expensive and the results questionable on a variety of levels.

Because of the aforementioned problems the research strategy in this phase of the project has focused on the collection of aggregate qualitative data, essentially a case study approach with special attention to job and family histories. Additionally we are refining the analysis of already completed survey material, collecting data from other research and public agencies, and reviewing the available literature, both scholarly and journalistic, on immigration and immigrant and ethnic communities, especially those in New York City. This process of data collection is not yet finished; the material available varies in its completeness from group to group simply because some groups have been easier to contact, and more willing to cooperate than others, and because the necessary research support staff has been available for some groups but not for others. Although the universe

from which we draw our cases is restricted, the aggregate data presents alternative experiences that suggest significant patterns in immigrant adjustment to life in Queens. The following report is preliminary in nature and should be evaluated accordingly.

Old Immigrants/Old Communities; New Immigrants/New Communities[1]

From the mid 1960s on, there has been renewed attention paid to ethnicity and the maintenance of cultural pluralism (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). Significantly this coincides with the latest wave of immigration to the United States after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. Much has been written on the assimilation and acculteration of immigrants to U.S. society as immigration is clearly a vital part of U.S. history. The United States is a nation of immigrants; between 1790 and 1970 immigration accounted for about 50 percent of the national population growth (Gibson, 1975). Similarly, New York is a city of immigrants; much of its growth and that of the surrounding area from the 19th century on was a direct or indirect response to an immigrant influx. In the decade before World War I, the peak immigration period, New York City received a disproportionate share of Southern and Eastern European immigrants and immigrant workers provided the backbone of the labor supply required by the expanding industry of New York (Rosenwaike, 1972).

In the classical studies of these immigrants a folk-urban dichotomy served as the basic model of description and investigation. Many of the immigrant groups that populated New York City were rural and peasant in origin, although there were notable exceptions (e.g., Jews). They were sociologically visible because their own poverty, coupled with the occupational demands of industry made it inevitable that they would remain in

urban areas. The standard assumption was that the rural-peasant backgrounds of migrants meant their behavior would be inappropriate and even maladaptive to the new environment. The migrant had to readjust a familistic, personalistic and traditional orientation to that of an individualistic, universalistic recipient of innovations. In being "uprooted" (cf. Handlin, 1951) a natural tendency was attributed to immigrants to build, in miniature, familiar institutions, preserve native languages and band together for mutual aid and protection in the urban environment. In short, immigrants built societies within a society, and geographically defined ethnic communities were scattered all over New York.

World War I temporarily closed off immigration and immediately following the war, the political activism of immigrant workers, buttressed by the pseudo-scientific "racism" of public officials produced immigration policies designed to reduce the immigration volume. The National Quota Acts of the 1920s were discriminatory towards Eastern and Southern Europeans, continued the Asian exclusion policy, but allowed for the essentially temporary movement of Mexican labor which wa justified on the basis of critical labor needs and Good Neighbor Policy rhetoric (Keely, 1979). Although in the post World War I era the direct demographic impact of immigrants declined, they continued to make disproportionate contributions to the New York City's population growth because fertility rates, especially among Italians and East European Jews, were the highest in the City By mid-century New York's population had stabilized, but a stable size did not preclude continued shifts in population as gradually immigrants and their immediate descendants moved from New York's central core to the outlying boroughs, especially the Bronx and Brooklyn. Geographic mobility was a frequent correlate of rising socioeconomic status, and newcomers, often southern Blacks and Puerto Ricans,

filled the space vacated by immigrants from abroad. This movement was temporarily halted by the Great Depression but was reestablished immediately following World War II. Queens County was a prime target area for the post War outflux because it, along with Richmond, were the only areas within the City with vacant land still available. Government subsidized single-family dwellings were made available to middle income whites and Queens earned itself a reputation as middle class and residential (Rosenwaike, 1972).

Although there is a substantial body of literature on immigrants in America much of it is descriptive or a statment of goals rather than an analysis of immigrant adjustment to America (Gordon, 1964). Nonetheless, the classical studies of immigrants of the turn of the century have provided us with a set of expectations of what is and will happen in Queens. For both empirical and theoretical reasons many of these expectations need to be re-examined.

As in the past many new immigrants have choosen New York City for their new homes; unlike earlier waves many have selected the outlying boroughs rather than the city's central core in which to settle. The magnitude of the influx to the Borough of Queens is, however, difficult to determine. Official counts provided by the Census Bureau and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) provide a rough measure but generally are underestimates. For census figures there is always the problem of categorization, a problem general to all kinds of survey research. Who is to be included in the category of "Oriental" or "Hispanic" and by what criteria and for what reasons would an individual place him/herself in any particular category. The political ramifications of undercounts in the census have been well-discussed in the press. INS figures provide a more detailed account of immigrants as such, but these figures are not clear

indicators of the number of immigrant from any country for several reasons. For one they exclude all individuals who have already acquired citizenship although this may not be that serious a problem for this wave of immigrants because one of its anomalies is a low propensity to acquire U.S. citizenship (Böhning, 1979). There are upwards of four million foreigners who are registered as permanent residents and this figure is probably an undercount because statistics are dependent on voluntary address filing with the INS. For some of the groups we are examining the failure to acquire U.S. citizenship after some years of residence is a conscious decision (Fisher, 1978). Second, there appears to be a high level of movement back and forth between the U.S. and the country of origin. This multiple entry pattern has led some analysis to suggest that immigrants from nearby countries are not "immigrating" but "commuting" (Cornelius, 1977). Although it is difficult to determine how pervasive this is, a generally high mobility rate poses problems for accurately estimating the size of immigrant populations. A third problem, and one possibly related to the "commutation" aspects of current immigration, is the phenomenon of the undocumented worker. Undocumented workers are defined as workers who either abuse their visas or enter the U.S. fraudulently. It has proven difficult to collect accurate statistical data on this type of immigrant worker and much of the available information comes from INS apprehensions which are at best rough guides and not definitive statistical statements. Although undocumented workers have achieved considerable notoriety in the press, such accounts must be treated gingerly. Collecting data on this strata has proven exceedingly problematic even when qualitative methods are employed (NACLA, 1979). We have not rigorously pursued the

issue of legal status in our own research but because the research strategy depends on personal ties and face to face interactions we have been able to collect data on this category of immigrant worker. Entering the U.S. without proper papers is clearly one of several strategies found among immigrants, although the significance of legal status for long-term adjustment is not at all clear at this time

Clearly there are major problems in determining the demographic importance of new immigrants within the Borough's population. On the one hand, statistical estimates indicate that the percentage of new immigrants in the Borough's population is not great. For example, in the Project-supported telephone survey of ethnic groups in Queens, several of the six groups we are examining (Colombians, Greeks, Italians, Korean, Asian Indians and Israelis) did not appear as statistically relevant populations. On the other hand, estimates by the press and by those whose serve there populations suggest otherwise. The number of Colombians has been estimated as 60,000 and 200,000, Italians as approximately 75,000, Greeks at 100,000, Koreans between 30,000 and 80,000, Asian Indians from 15,000 to 30,000 and Israelis between 30,00 and 70,000. Obviously, there are large disparities in estimates.

For all the aforementioned reasons, a major thrust of this project has been to identify the distribution of immigrant populations rather than absolute size. The pilot study indicated that the six immigrant groups were segregated by residence as well as by association but it was not clear what type of segregation existed. Are we seeing the development of clearly defined ethnic neighborhoods with specifiable boundaries, small ethnic pockets scattered in some discernible pattern or a random pattern of relatively isolated households? Initially we used Community Planning

Districts as the geographic unit of analysis; in this phase we used zip codes because comparable INS data was available and because zip codes are smaller, and more "natural" geographic and social units, although not necessarily homogeneous in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics.

Table 1 through 6 (see also Map 1) summarizes data on the distribution of immigrants from each of the six countries by zip code. Each table is divided into three columns. Column I lists the statistics provided by INS for each country as of 1977, column II the zip code distribution of a sample of immigrants (legal status unspecified) collected by the project, and column III provides a zip code breakdown of organizations that in some way serve the respective immigrant communities.[2] Not all zip codes in the Borough are listed but rather only those for which the INS indicated a minimum of 45 households and those that showed any concentration at all according to the other samples. By examining any one of the columns separately we find that immigrants from each country are clustered in specific zip codes. For example, the INS data indicates that a majority of Colombians are located in 5 contiguous zip codes, as are Asian Indians, a majority of Greeks in four, and Israelis only in three. Koreans show a dual cluster pattern, with over 30 percent in two contiguous zip codes (11354 and 11355), that are geographically separated from 28 plus percent in three contiguous zip codes (11373, 11372, 11377). Italians contrast with the other groups in that they are more scattered around the Borough. However, when comparisons are made among all three columns certain descrepencies are evident. Colombians, for example, in Column II are found in high percentages in the same zip codes as in Column I with one exception: Flushing, zip code 11354. This area accounted for over 11 percent of the Colombians surveyed by the Project but only slightly over 2 percent of the INS sample. A similar statement

MAP 1: QUEENS ZIP CODE MAP

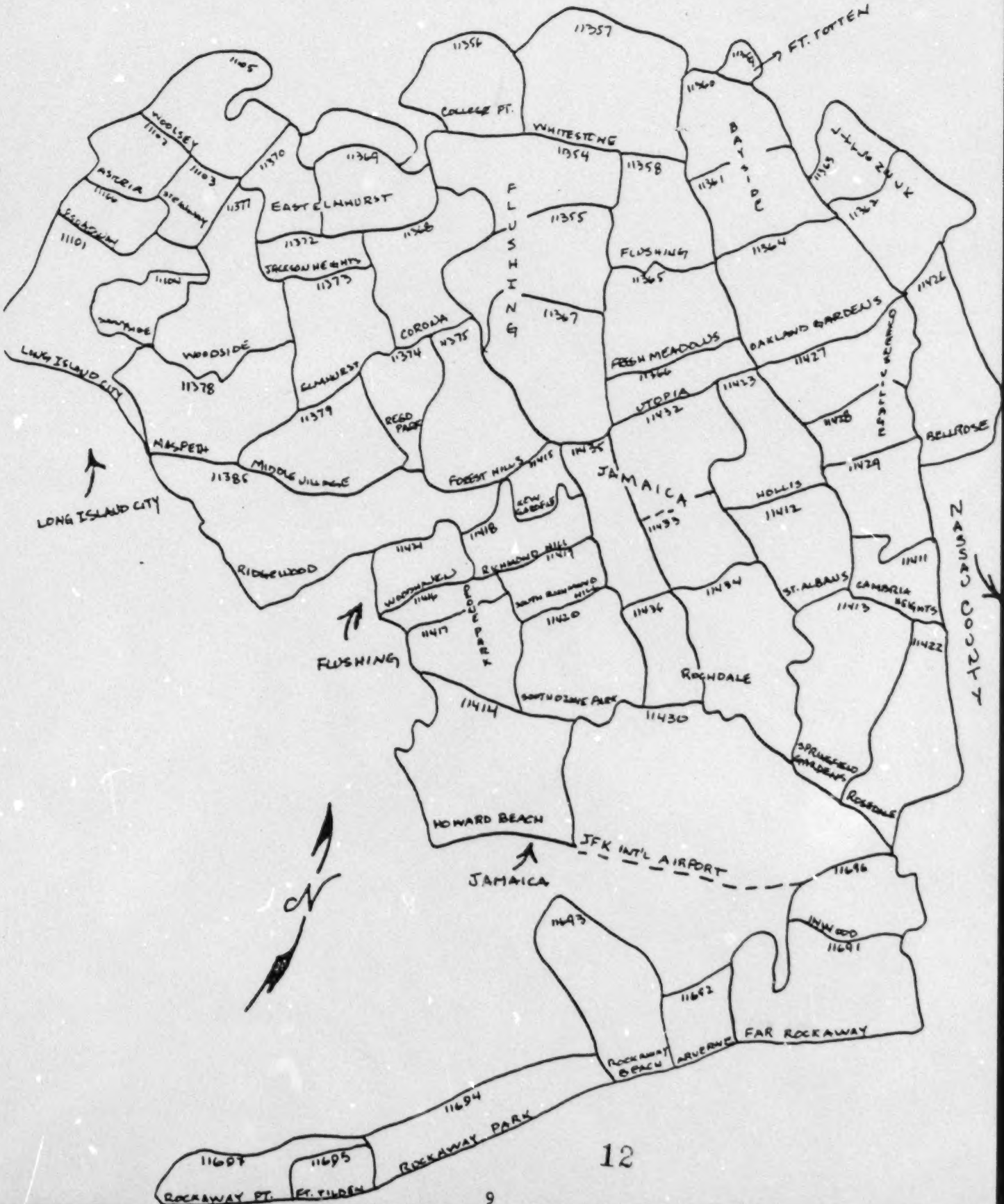


Table 1: Distributions of Colombian Immigrants

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=15,196) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=150) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=88) %
11373	16.5	6.0	9.0
11372	11.8	28.0	18.2
11377	11.1	6.7	6.8
11355	7.0	13.3	4.6
11368	6.5	8.0	8.0
11432	4.2	1.3	6.8
11435	3.9		1.1
11104	3.3	2.7	6.8
11375	2.8		1.1
11106	2.4	2.7	4.6
11419	2.2		
11354	2.2	11.3	
11369	2.0	1.3	
11101	2.0	.7	5.7
11105	2.0	4.0	1.1
1423	1.8	2.0	1.1
11103	1.7		2.3
11370	1.4	.7	2.3
11367	1.4	2.0	5.7
11102	1.3		4.6
11374	1.3	2.0	1.1
11420	1.1		2.3
11428	1.0		
11427	1.0	1.3	1.1
11415	.9		

Table 1: Distribution of Colombian Immigrants (con't)

Zip Code	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=15,196) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=150) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=88) %
11418	.8		1.1
11691	.8		2.3
11364	.6		
11358	.6	.7	1.1
11365	.5	.7	
11429	.5		
11434		3.3	
11385		.7	
11421		.7	

Table 2: Distributions of Asian Indian Immigrants

	(INS Statistics) 1977		(E.S.P. Survey) 1981		(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981)	
ZIP CODE	(N=7925)	%	(N=75)	%	(N=64)	%
11355		20.3		16.0		34.4
11373		14.0		9.3		6.3
11375		8.4		13.3		4.7
11377		6.7				4.7
11432		5.4		13.3		9.4
11368		5.3		2.7		6.3
11372		3.1		2.7		4.7
11354		3.0		1.3		7.8
11435		2.8				
11374		2.7		6.7		
11004		2.0				
11370		1.9		1.3		
11367		1.9		6.7		
11102		1.6				
11104		1.5		5.3		
11364		1.5		2.7		
11103		1.3				
11415		1.0				
11366		.9				
11365		.9		4.0		
11379		.8		2.7		3.1
11361		.7				
11423		.7		1.3		
11105		.7		1.3		
11418		.7				

Table 2: Distribution of Asian Indian Immigrants (con't)

	(INS Statistics) 1977		(E.S.P. Survey) 1981		(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981)	
ZIP CODE	(N=7925)	%	(N=75)	%	(N=64)	%
11369		.6		1.3		1.6
11357		.6		2.7		
11106		.5				4.7
11691		.5				
11362		.4				1.6
11426		.4		1.3		
11428		.4				1.6
11419				1.3		3.1
11411						1.6
11378				1.3		
11422				1.3		

Table 3: Distribution of Greek Immigrants

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=11,022) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=102) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=135) %
11105	20.4	40.2	20.7
11103	15.1	7.9	10.4
11106	11.5	11.8	11.1
11102	9.0	6.0	15.6
11432	5.4	3.9	3.0
11377	5.0		
11368	4.7	7.0	3.0
11354	2.7	3.0	5.2
11355	2.5	7.8	1.5
11435	2.4		2.2
11373	2.2		
11370	2.1	1.0	
11358	2.0	1.0	1.5
11372	1.5	1.0	1.5
11104	1.5		2.2
11361	1.4		
11101	1.3		.7
11357	1.0	6.0	4.4
11365	.7		
11375	.7		
11356	.6		
11418	.6		
11364	.5		.7
11374	.5	1.0	
11427	.5		

Table 3: Distribution of Greek Immigrants (con't)

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=11,022) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=102) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=135) %
11378	.4		
11423	.4		.7
11367		1.0	3.0
11694			2.2
11420			1.5

Table 4: Distribution of Israeli Immigrants

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=2,479) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=68) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=58) %
11375	29.2	26.5	20.7
11374	19.4	28.0	3.5
11367	6.6	16.1	10.3
11415	4.8	10.3	
11435	4.1	2.9	1.7
11373	4.0		10.3
11355	3.6	1.5	1.7
11365	2.7		1.7
11364	2.6	1.5	5.2
11368	2.6		1.7
11432	1.7		
11360	1.7		1.7
11366	1.4	1.5	1.7
11691	1.3	1.5	10.3
11370	1.2		
11354	1.2	1.5	
11362	1.2		3.5
11372	1.2		5.2
11357	.9		
11694	.8		1.7
11423	.8		1.7
11358	.7		
11104	.7		3.5
11427	.7		1.7
11106	.5		

Table 4: Distribution of Israeli Immigrants (con't)

	(INS Statistics) 1977		(E.S.P. Survey) 1981		(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981)	
ZIP CODE	(N=2,479)	%	(N=68)	%	(N=58)	%
11418		.5				
11370		.4				
11363		.4		2.9		
11414		.4				1.7
11422		.4				
11430						3.5
11361				1.5		1.7
11377				2.9		1.7
11434						1.7
11426				1.5		

Table 5: **Distribution of Korean Immigrants**

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=6,064) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=120) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=22) %
11355	20.3	26.7	22.1
11373	14.8	2.5	13.1
11354	9.8	18.0	10.7
11377	9.6	1.7	8.2
11104	8.1		3.3
11372	4.0	1.7	7.4
11375	3.1		3.3
11106	2.7		.8
11691	2.6	20.8	
11103	2.4		1.6
11102	2.0		4.1
11432	2.0		
11374	1.9	.8	.8
11105	1.8	.8	.8
11368	1.7	5.0	1.6
11358	1.0	1.7	3.3
11364	.8		.8
11360	.7	1.7	
11365	.7		.8
11435	.7		
11370	.7	.8	.8
11101	.6	1.7	4.1
11357	.6		
11004	.5		
11367	.5		2.5

Table 5: Distribution of Korean Immigrants (con't)

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=6,064) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=120) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=22) %
11361	.4		.8
11378	.4		1.6
11414	.4		
11415	.4		1.6
11427	.4		
11385			1.6
11356			.8
11369			.8
11379		.8	.8
11433			.8
11434			.8
11363		.8	
11366		.8	
11696		13.3	

Table 6: Distribution of Italian Immigrants

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=11,700) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=121) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=74) %
11103	9.3	.8	12.6
11367	9.0	2.5	6.8
11102	7.8	1.7	5.4
11105	7.0		2.7
11106	4.7	1.7	5.4
11416	4.6	9.1	5.4
11417	4.0	5.0	
11419	3.7	1.7	
11358	3.2	.8	2.7
11357	3.0	9.9	1.4
11101	2.9	.8	1.4
11379	2.8	2.5	
11377	2.7		1.4
11355	2.6		28.4
11370	2.5	5.8	2.7
11378	2.3	.8	
11373	2.2	2.5	2.7
11420	2.1		
11421	1.9		
11354	1.7	6.6	4.1
11356	1.7	2.5	1.4
11361	1.6		
11418	1.5		1.4
11414	1.4		
11432	1.2		4.1

Table 6: **Distribution of Italian Immigrants** (con't)

ZIP CODE	(INS Statistics) 1977 (N=11,700) %	(E.S.P. Survey) 1981 (N=121) %	(E.S.P. Organization Survey 1981) (N=74) %
11435	1.2		1.4
11372	1.2	2.5	
11422	1.0		
11364	.8	.8	
11375	.8	.8	
11365	.8	.8	1.4
11423	.7		
11104	.7	.8	1.4
11426	.5		
11369	.5		1.4
11428	.4		
11415	.4	.8	
11427	.4	2.5	
11360	.4		
11366	.4		
11385		11.6	4.1
11368		5.0	1.4
11691		19.0	

could be made for Asian Indians, Greeks, and Israelis (compare, for example, columns I and II for zip codes 11432, 11357, 11367, respectively). Among Koreans the figures in both I and II show a cluster in our sample. Instead, we find a cluster in column II in zip codes 11691 and 11696, both of which, according to the INS, are areas with few Korean immigrants. Among Italians two clusters appear in column II which do not appear in the INS data (11385 and 11691) and one major INS cluster is underrepresented in our sample (11103, 11102, 11105 and 11106).

The association between specific areas in the Borough and immigrant populations would seem to confirm the commonly made association between areas and ethnic groups; e.g., Astoria is Greek, Jackson Heights, Colombian, and so forth. However, in doing this we are also making a statement about organized community life. Column III presents data on the location of community organizations which can be taken as a gross measure of organized ethnic and/or immigrant life in an area. As with the data presented in Column I and II, Column III confirms immigrant geographic clustering, but the coincidence by zip code is not always the same as in Column II and III.

We have attempted a preliminary graphic portrayal of the distribution of the six immigrant communities and an assessment of relative concentrations for each group within each groups entire geographic spread (see Maps 2-7). This was done by mere inspection of the coincidence of concentrations in specific zip codes in Column I-III.[4] If each group is examined separately, there is clear evidence of clustering with the possible exception of the Italian sample. In other words, each group is associated with a specific area, albeit some more than others (e.g., Greeks with Astoria), and there is evidence of an organized community to meet the needs of the population. However, if all six groups are examined together, and exclusive association

between area and any one immigrant group breaks down. Table 7 lists the major zip codes associated with immigrant populations. There is a significant degree of geographic overlap between the groups. Simply stated, Jackson Heights may be a Colombian area but it is a Korean and Asian Indian area as well, and Flushing, zip code 11355, seems to be home for significant segments of all our immigrants.

Queens has clearly become the home for many new immigrants but the contention that clearly segregated ethnic communities or enclaves exist is challenged by the data. It is perhaps more accurate to say that we have a large immigrant sector (See Map 8). Originally we suggested that one element that might account for the pattern of ethnic segregation was fears of, or actual confrontations with, other groups. But, the actual pattern is the opposite of what should appear if this were the case. It is possible that some form of geographic ethnic segregation occurs on a lower level, i.e., by block, although my impression is that this is not the case; multi-ethnic blocks are as common as multi-ethnic zip codes.[5]

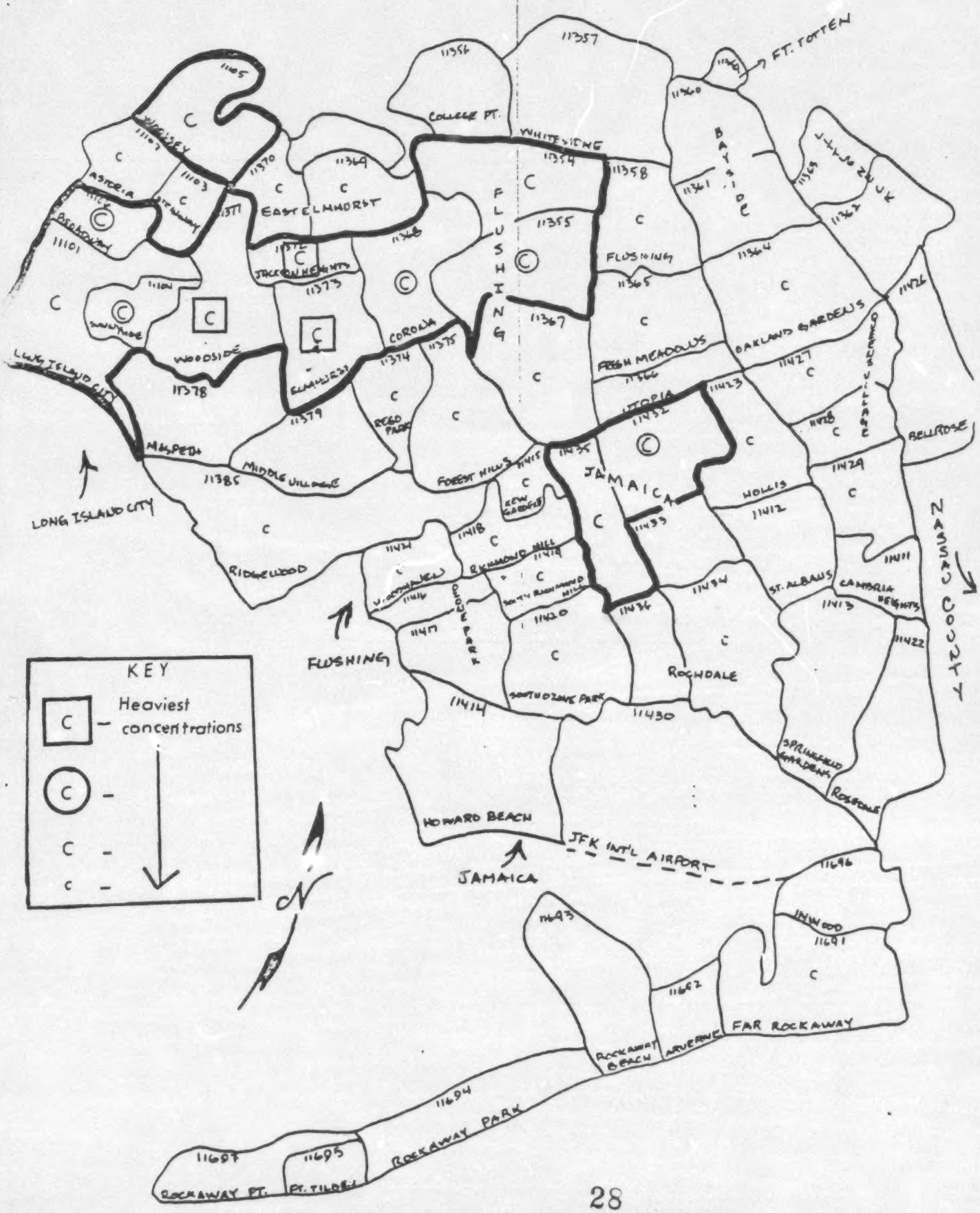
This distribution pattern need to be explained. One plausible explanation is that socioeconomic class standing is the determining variable in association. The trend data of the pilot study indicated that immigrants to Queens were members of a "middle class" as measured by such standard indices as income and education. However, refining the analysis of income data for a small number of households has shown that the spread with in each immigrant group is considerable (see Table 8). Clearly middle class status has a wide range of behavorial manifestation and there is a considerable amount of income stratification within the immigrant

Table 7

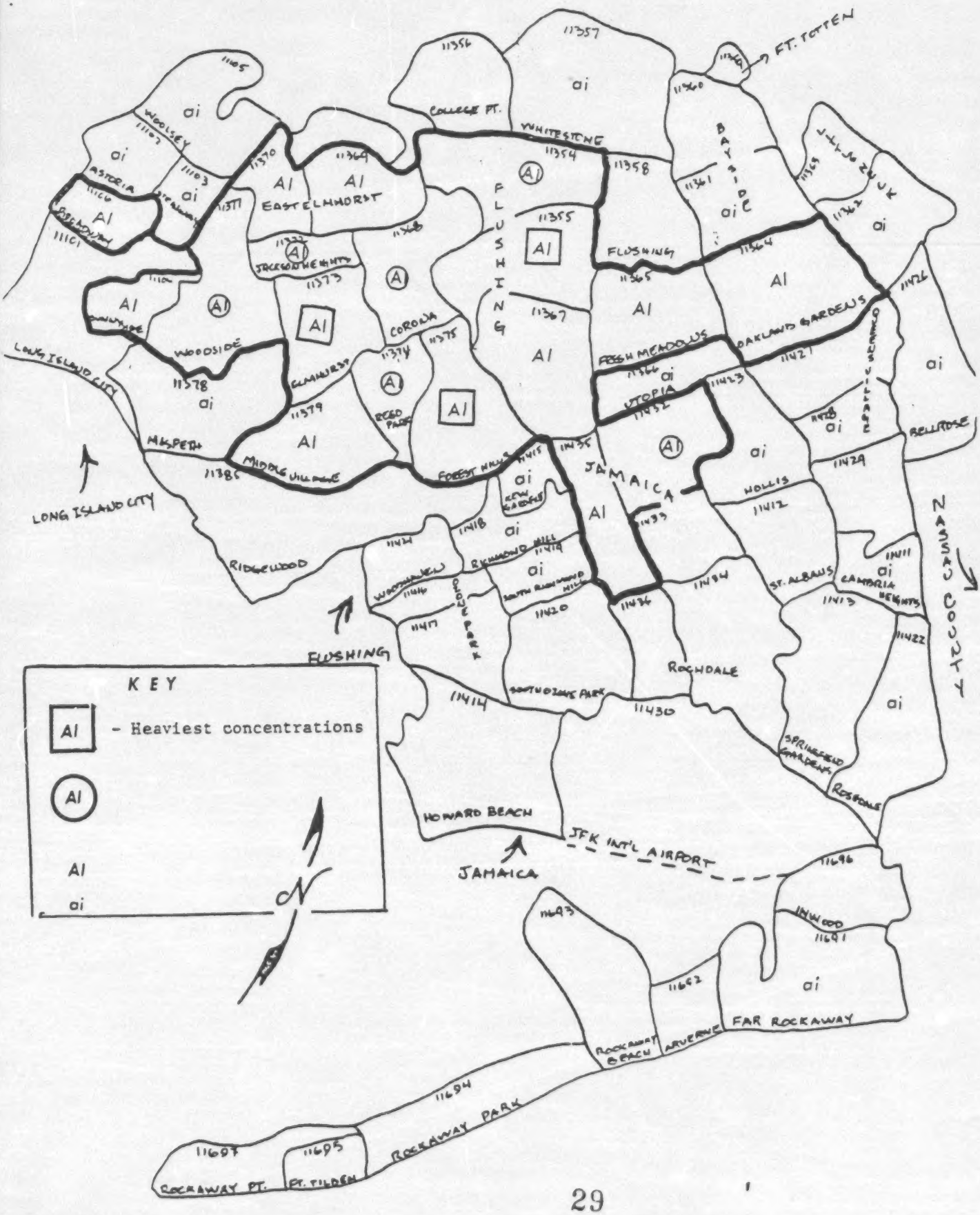
Major Concentration of Immigrant Populations by Zip Code

ZIP CODE	GREEK	ITALIAN	COLOMBIAN	KOREAN	AS. INDIAN	ISRAELI
11101		✓		✓		
11102	✓	✓		✓		
11103	✓	✓		✓		
11104	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
11105	✓	✓	✓	✓		
11106	✓	✓	✓		✓	
11354	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
11355	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
11357	✓	✓				
11358		✓		✓		
11364					✓	✓
11365					✓	
11367		✓			✓	✓
11368	✓		✓	✓	✓	
11369					✓	
11370		✓			✓	
11372			✓	✓	✓	
11373		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
11374				✓	✓	✓
11375				✓	✓	✓
11377	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
11379		✓			✓	
11385						
11432	✓	✓	✓		✓	
11435	✓		✓		✓	
11691		✓		✓		✓

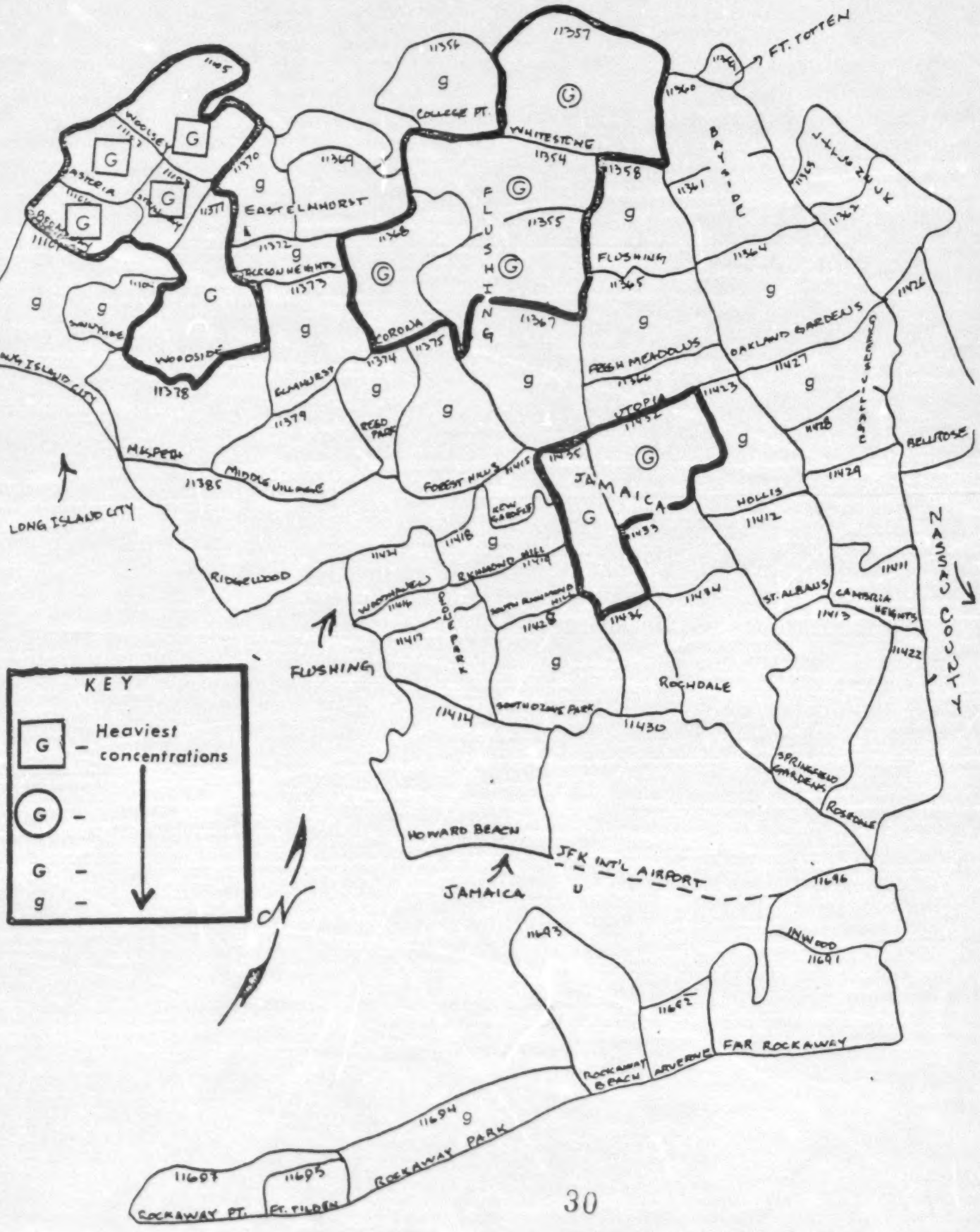
MAP 2: DISTRIBUTION OF COLOMBIAN IMMIGRANTS



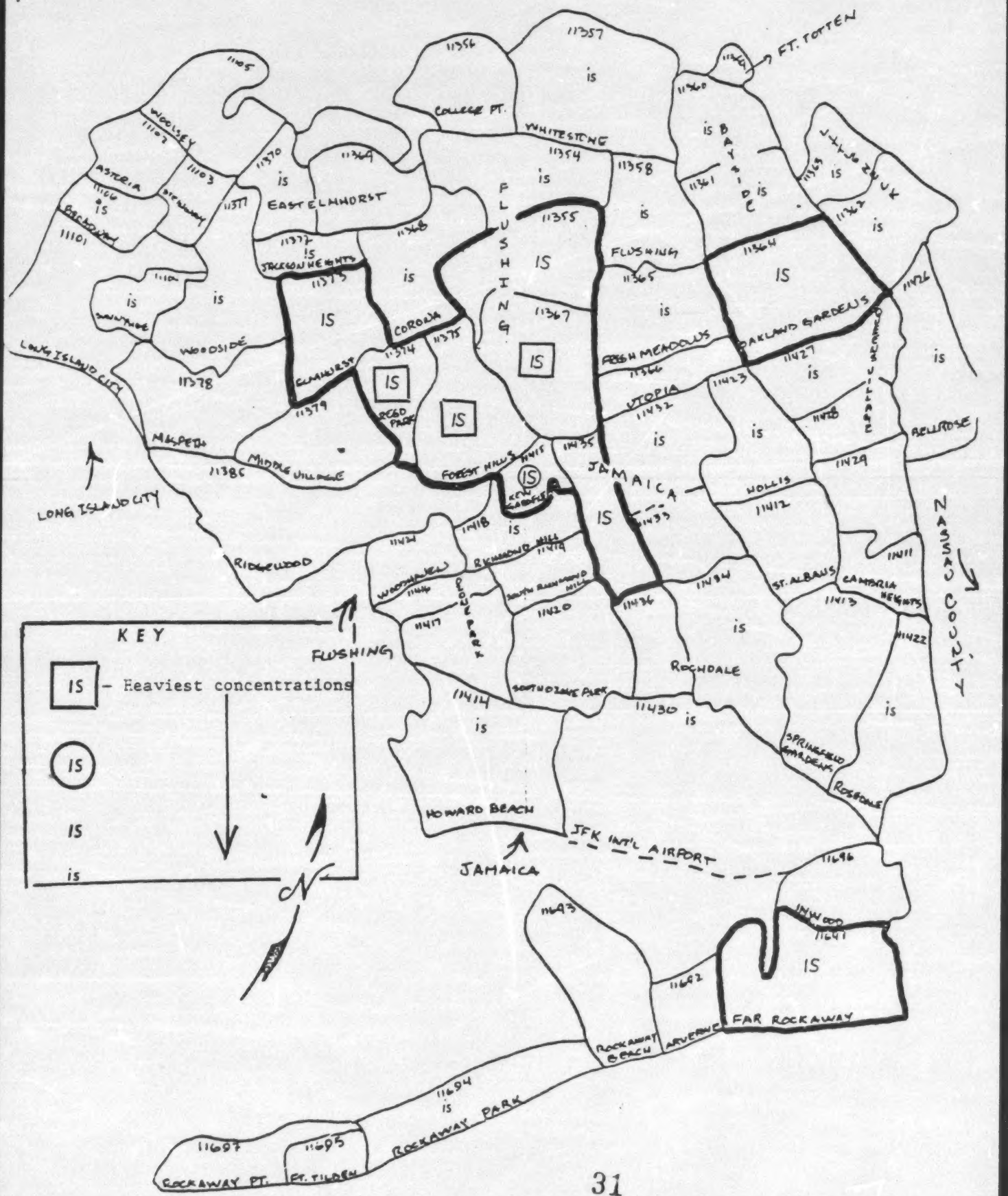
MAP 3: DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANTS



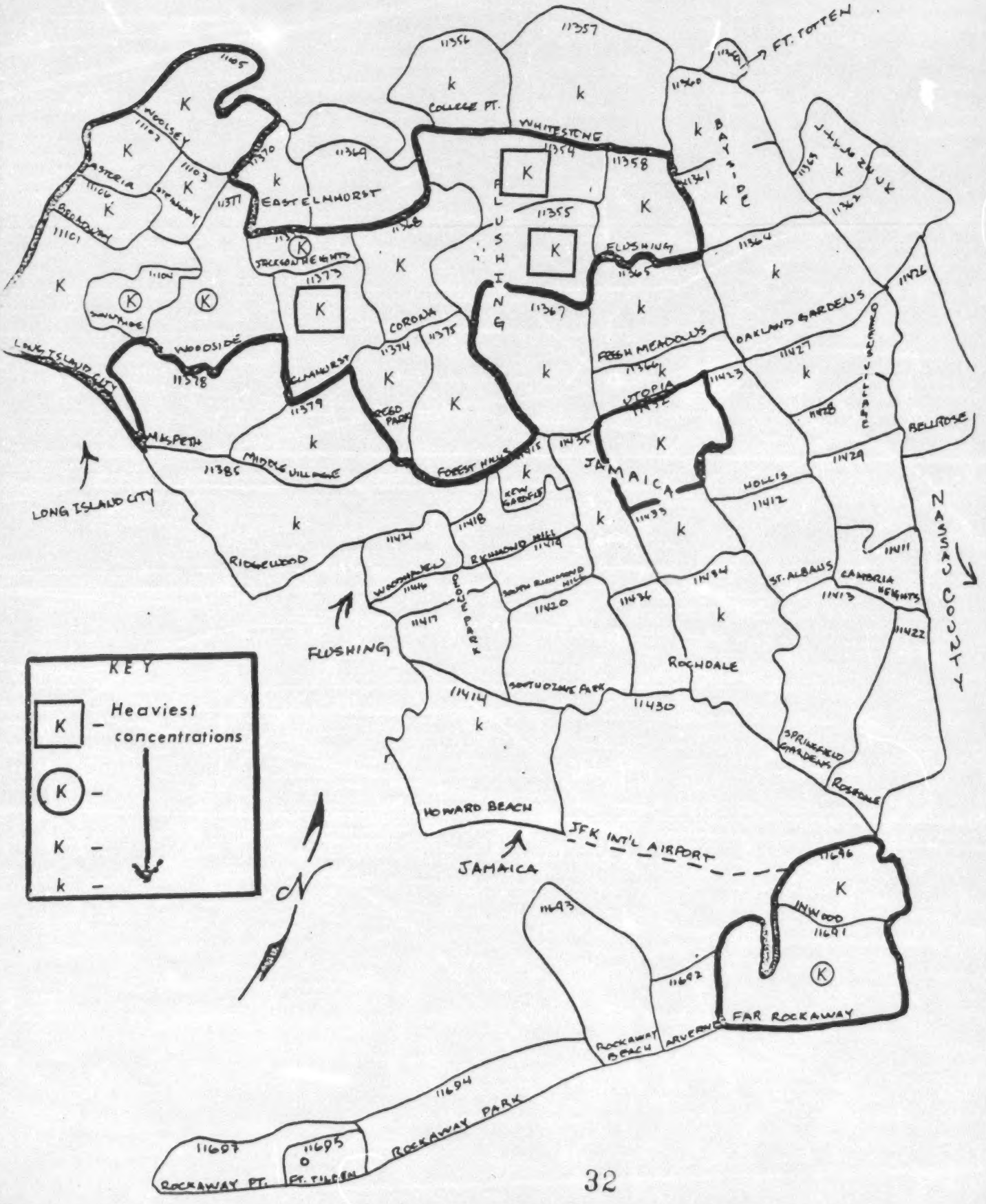
MAP 4: DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK IMMIGRANTS



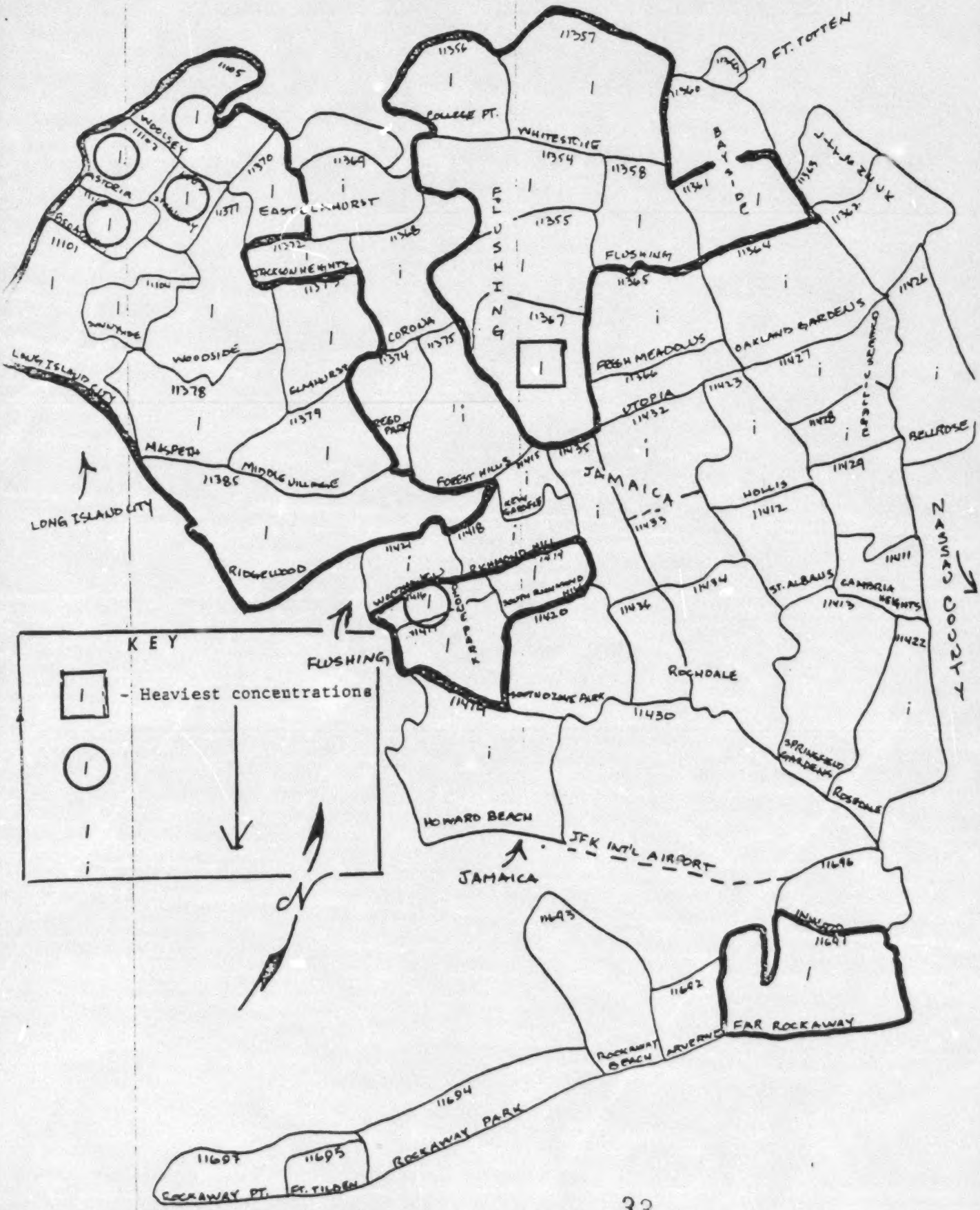
MAP 5: DISTRICT OF ISRAELI IMMIGRANTS



MAP 6: DISTRIBUTION OF KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

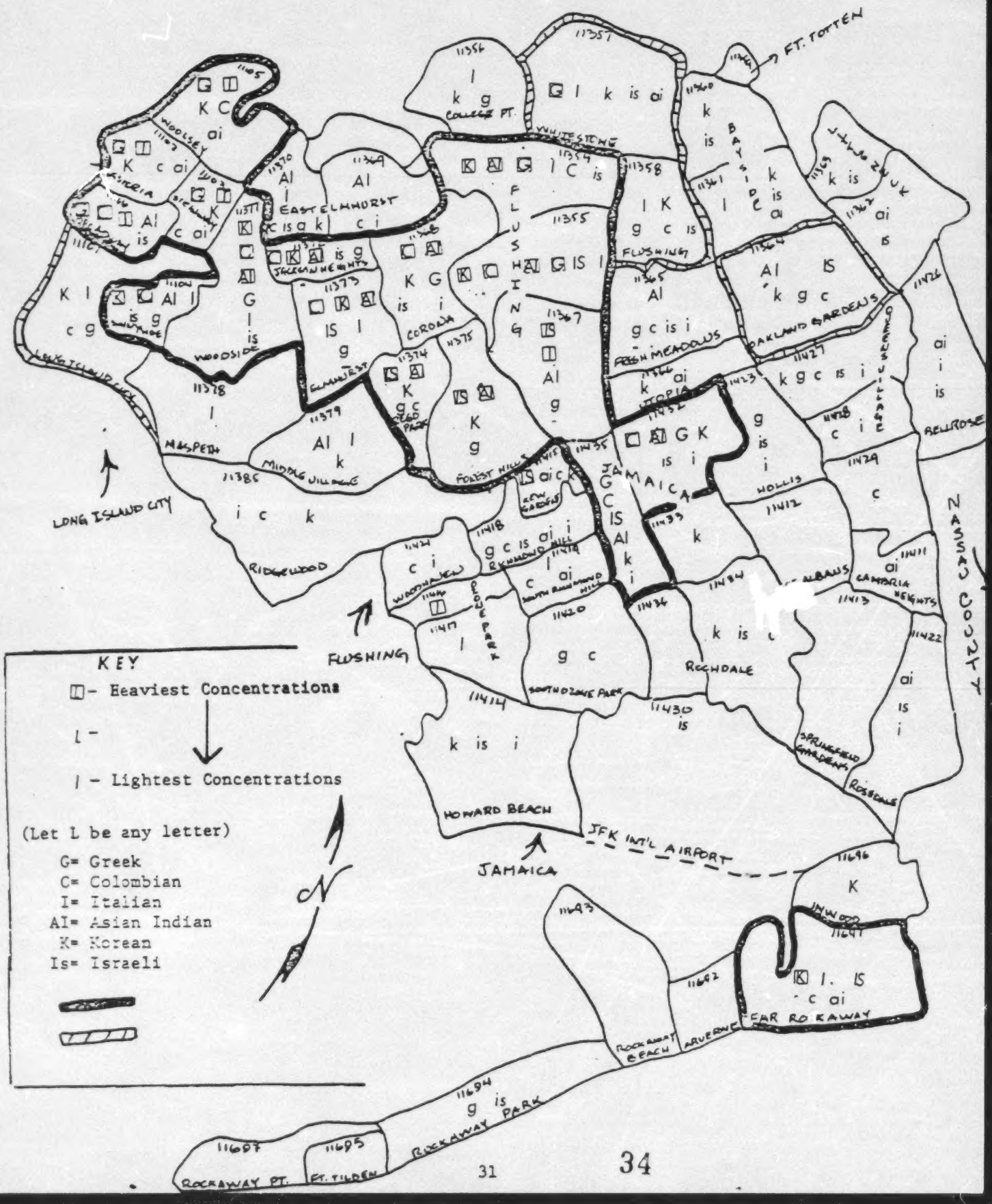


MAP 7: DISTRICTION OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS



33

MAP 8: IMMIGRANT AREAS IN QUEENS



category. It is possible, indeed likely, that income levels are correlated with neighborhood. For example, for a group of 20 households in the Long Island City-Astoria area, zip codes 11101-11106 per capita income was $4,9444; for a group of 21 households in Flushing (zip codes 11354-11355), per capita income was $5,243. The difference between the two is not great but in the first group two-wage earner households made up over fifty percent of the cases while in the second group two-wage earner households made up less than 30 percent. Moreover, the pilot study indicated that immigrants were direct migrants to Queens and there was a little evidence of movement within the Borough. While this speaks well for neighborhood stability, it suggests a lack of social mobility. Minimally, it suggests that class factors should be given consideration in our analyses of the immigrant experience.

Table 8: Per Capita Income

	Italian (N=17)	Greek (N=24)	Korean (N=17)	Asian Indian (N=18)	Israeli (N=12)	Colombian (N=25)
Per Capita Average	$4,484	$5,735	$6,350	$8,138	$9,138	$9,414
Range	$1,875 - 12,500	$1,875 - 27,500	$1,250 - 13,750	$1,875 - 42,500	$3,750 - 17,500	$2,500 - 14,167
% below Average	59%	65%	59%	61%	67%	84%

Neither the importance of class as dimension in immigrant adjustment nor the existence of a multi-ethnic sector can be taken as a negation of ethnicity as an important and pervasive theme in the lives of immigrants. Rather, it merely challenges some of our previous assumptions concerning the ecological basis of urban ethnic communities and requires that we more carefully examine the relationship between class and ethnicity. Although there are instances when bonds of ethnicity take precedence over ties of interest, economic or political, Hannerez (1974) remarks that class and ethnicity coincide so often that it is possible we are attributing to ethnicity what is in fact a class phenomenon. We still do not know to what extent large-scale immigration results in the creation of "communities," or what kinds of communities, in terms of the specific organizing principles, types of institutions and identities created by the move. Ethnicity is a complex phenomenon about which many assumptions are made. On the next section we will examine some of the experiences of recent immigrants that we expect will shed light on commonalities of immigrant adjustment in its ethnic dimension.

The Place of Ethnicity in the Immigrant Experience

Immigration is frequently associated with ethnicity, as indicated by the proliferation of ethnic motifs in the analysis of earlier immigrant workers. However, there is no inherent connection between ethnicity and migrancy; there are numerous instances of de-ethnification and migrancy can be a structural status, not a stage in an assimilation process (Cohen, 1974). Too often, explanations of ethnicity rest on little more than vague notions of the psychology of identity, as for example, when an ethnic sense is seen as deriving from the compulsion of man "to merge his lonely identity in some ancestral group" (Gordon, 1964:25). But it cannot be assumed that persons from any given geographic area share a common culture, common identity, desire to preserve behavior or beliefs or desire companionship with their fellow immigrants. Loyalties and identities can be based on other characteristics; populations with the same national origin are not necessarily homogeneous.

Ethnicity is a creative process and an ethnic population is often best understood as a category rather than a group (Vincent, 1974). The form, boundaries and cultural content of ethnic groups change in response to a societal setting. Research on ethnicity in urban settings has linked it to the functional differentiation of the urban opportunity structure; ethnicity is a group strategy to control, alter or modify the distribution of resources, slots, and tasks for which personnel must be recruited (Hannerz, 1974). Ethnic strategies come in many shapes. Moreover, the situations in which groups pursue ethnic strategies are not necessarily of their own making. Populations must accommodate themselves to "external forces" (Barth, 1969).

Given the association between immigrants and ethnicity it is not unexpected that in the scant literature on the new immigrant wave it is often assumed that ethnic groups will form, if they do not already exist. Moreover, because of recent changes in the character of the immigrant influx there is a tendency to attribute to this immigrant influx a cultural and racial dissimilarity from the mainstream of American society that not only makes it more "visible" but also more problematic in terms of the prospects for assimilation (cf. Bryce-Laporte, 1977). By implication "ethnic" identity should be even stronger among current immigrants than among previous ones. Undoubtedly there have been significant changes in immigration in the post World War II era and particularly since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. These can be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Immigration from Europe, the historically dominant pattern, has declined and immigration from underdeveloped and developing areas, specifically Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, has become the dominant trend (2) There has been a shift in the occupational origins of migrants at the time of entry away from those employed in agriculture and mining towards those employed in business, the vocations, the professions and technical positions. These changes do not, however, mean new immigrants are inherently more distinctive than previous immigrants or that an ethnic identity is marked. In fact, preliminary work on the six populations indicated that self-conscious ethnic identity was not strong, although an ethnically defined support system was pervasive. Furthermore, it is questionable just how distinct the backgrounds of newcomers are.

So-called underdeveloped areas have undergone a very rapid process of industrialization and urbanization in the last fifty years, albeit one which is characterized by a structural, sectoral and regional unevenness. It is

this unevenness in development which has placed these countries in the position of labor exporters and determines the specific pattern of labor exports (Castells, 1975). Although studies of the regional origin of recent migrants are sometimes contradictory, the general assessment is that recent migration is an urban to urban movemement. Both sending and receiving countries participate in an international economy (Portes, 1978; Castells, 1975) and exhibit similar, dominant ways of organizing economic and political life. Moreover, the repercussions of participating in this international economy permeate the organization of social and cultural life in underdeveloped areas; "modernization" also means the incorporation of cultural models from the U.S. (cf. Alba, 1978; Grant, 1978).

The presumed cultural distinctiveness of immigrants is also questionable on the grounds of their "class" origins. This wave of immigrants is drawn largely from the pools of professional and kindred workers, white-collar workers, the petty entrepreneurial class and skilled blue collar workers. Much of the data on occupation comes from the INS and presents problems of accuracy and interpretation. Undocumented workers are excluded, occupational designation is dependent on self-categorization and there is no way to verify its accuracy, and because immigration laws favor family reunification, many enter the U.S. as dependents. Females frequently classify themselves as "housewives" and are unable to determine their actual skills and qualifications of what their work status will be in the U.S. (Tomasi and Keely, 1975). Another problem with occupation categories is that they may not be equivalent across international borders. Concretely this means that individuals classify themselves as belonging to a specific occupational group, may have functioned as such in the native country but the same occupation in the U.S. has a quite different set of

requirements. Simply stated, job categories such as pharmacist, accountant, nurse, businessman or teacher mean one thing in Korea or Colombia, and quite another in the U.S.

This last point poses problems for judging the "class" position of immigrants. In industrial societies class--defined in terms of the relationship to the commodity and labor market--and status--defined in terms of a prestige hierarchy--are empirically interrelated, although not necessarily logically. In the United States the interconnectedness of the two dimensions is so great that single indices such as "socioeconomic status" are often used to measure both. However, status categories and hierarchies are culturally specific and subjective. In the U.S. "middle class" status has an educational, income and occupation dimension but we cannot assume that these dimensions have the same weight in defining status in other societies. For example, in Latin America, a "middle class" has been defined along manual- non-manual labor axis. Unfortunately the literature on middle classes in underdeveloped areas is scarce, especially in terms of description, and thus when we designate incoming migrants as members of a "middle class" we are making assumptions about native status hierarchies.

Despite these qualifications it is not unreasonable to state that new immigrants are well prepared to enter an urban setting in which occupational structure is geared toward white-collar, technical and professional labor. However well prepared the immigrant may be, there may well be a large gap between preparation, expectation and actual experience. The available data indicates that occupational distribution at entry is bimodal, with a concentration in the upper echelons of the occupational hierarchy and a concentration in low-level occupations. A legal-illegal dichotomy may be one factor that accounts for this distribution; substantial numbers of illegal immigrants

show up in low-wage positions in services and light industry (Piore, 1976). However, there is social mobility, both upward and downward; within several years occupational distribution comes to match resident workers (North and Wessart, 1973).

A major focus of our research efforts over the last nine months has been the collection of job and career histories the objective of which was to determine the realities of the immigrant experience in Queens. In doing so, we have attempted to evaluate the function of ethnic support systems and identities in this experience. The universe from which we drew our cases is small (approximately 150 in all) but the aggregate data clearly presents alternative experiences and strategies which may not cover all possibilities but are significant patterns in immigrant adjustment to life in Queens.

In total, the dominant trend for <u>first</u> job experience was employment as unskilled workers; over 80 percent initially were employed in the service sector and manufacturing, and the majority found work in Queens. Intra-group variation in terms of the specific work experience was not great. Colombians worked in factories and food establishments, as did Koreans, Greeks and Italians. Slight differences were shown by each of the groups. Among Italians domestic work was an alternative to factories or food establishments, among Israelis domestic work and retail trade establishments and among Asian Indians low level clerical positions.

Variations in the above pattern attributable to year of entry into the labor market, sex, age, educational level and legal immigration status, were insignificant. Year of entry ranged from as early as 1950 to as late as 1981 but most cases fell in the period 1965 through to the late 1970s. The sex distribution was approximately equal with slightly more male workers. The

INS data on female dependents clearly does not accurately reflect the role they came to play in the U.S. labor market. What we do know is whether females are inaccurately reporting their status to the INS, possibly to facilitate admission, or whether joining the labor force is part of the immigration experience. We are in the process of collecting family histories which will provide comparative data on employment in the native country and the U.S. Tentatively we suggest that female participation in the labor force at home is less than that in the U.S. but that educational credentials would allow for such participation in either place.

The absence of differences by age and education level reveals much about the place of immigrant labor in the U.S. labor market. Overwhelmingly first employment was in the so-called "secondary labor market," that is, in low-skill jobs in non-union factories, specific categories of low pay service jobs, low level positions in retail and wholesale trade, and low level clerical jobs (cf. Edwards, 1971). Women, youth and minorities cluster in these industries and sectors of the economy, although increasingly native workers are unwilling to take these jobs because the extension of social welfare services provide a viable alternative to employment in what are low wage and unstable positions (Kuhn, 1978). What native minorities are unwilling to do, immigrants, at least initially, must do.

Employment in these sectors in effect levels the experience acquired by virtue of age and education for immigrant workers. Less than 30 percent of our cases were under 25 years of age and only 10 percent under 19. These age groups are not expected to have extensive work experience and therefore face employment handicaps but older workers, representing the majority of our cases, already had a number of years of experience behind them. Educational levels varied from as little as elementary school to as much as a post-graduate

degree, although a majority were at least high school graduates and often had some formal technical or vocational training or university experience. Although data on the legal status at the time of entry is incomplete, legal status apparently makes little difference for employment. Only in one case did an individual specifically mention legal documentation as being instrumental in opening up a job, and in this instance the alternative to factory work was a low level retail position.

Specific ethnic ties and identities did not figure prominently in defining the basic character of the first job. Assuredly social ties were used to locate jobs and were preferred to more formal methods (newspapers, employment agencies, etc.) but these social ties were broadly defined (common language, religion, neighborhood, broad geographic point of origin or experiences). Ethnicity was, however, a factor in some cases for defining the specific setting of employment (a Greek restaurant, a Korean grocery store, an Israeli retail shop, an Italian factory) but this did not alter the fundamental character of the first job or attitudes toward the experience.

The second group of cases, the remaining 20 percent, differed from the first group in several ways. Generally, there was considerable homogeneity of age, year of entry into the labor market and educational level. Age ranged from the late 20s through the mid 30s, university degrees were the minimum educational level with a high incidence of post-graduate degrees, and entry to the U.S. labor market occurred between the late 1950s and late 1960s. In many cases job contracts or training appointments in public institutions were secured before immigrating. In other cases there was either, a step migration pattern, that is, residence in another country, usually in Western Europe, or a reentry pattern, a period of residence in the U.S., a departure and subsequent

reentry after a gap of a year or two. These experiences served to develop personal contacts which subsequently made finding appropriate employment easier. Presumably many entered under the skilled manpower provisions of the immigration laws but it should be noted that not all who entered under this stature fall within this group. Many "skilled manpower" immigrants had experiences akin to those of the majority of cases, even when they had promises of employment.

For the vast majority the immigration experience is a greater leveler of socioeconomic differences great and small. Labor market credentials acquired in countries of origin are not directly transferrable to the U.S. labor market except among very specific categories of professionals (particularly medical physicians). Individuals who attempted to find employment commensurate with what they saw as their qualifications, found that neither foreign education nor foreign experience was recognized. In effect, an equation existed between "immigrant status" and lack of skills and training. Although language problems were the major reason cited for the failure to find appropriate work, the "objective" basis of these perceptions can be questioned. For certain groups language deficiency was not an issue (e.g. Asian Indians); in these cases inappropriate dialects (i.e. a peculiar "accent") were the stated reasons employers offered for the immigrant's unacceptableness. Moreover, for the second group, language deficiencies were equally evident but these were not seen as particularly relevant to their ability to perform specific jobs. For these individuals it was their foreign training that led their non-immigrant colleagues to question their competencies. Foreign training and education was judged as not equivalent to that acquired in the U.S.

Immigrants are set off from others in the labor market by their "immigrant status" which means they enter the U.S. labor market without "culturally" valid credentials or ones that are suspect and downgraded. The consequences for most is that they find themselves ineligible for jobs except those requiring little or no skills; a priori they are defined as unskilled labor (cf. Sasoon-Koob, 1979). Native minority workers, along with youth and women, often fill unskilled labor slots although the existence of state welfare alternatives have diminished this pool of labor and resulted in conditions of labor scarcity in certain segments of the economy (cf. Kuhn, 1978). While there are a variety of mechanisms for coping with conditions of labor scarcity (e.g. exporting productive activities to areas of labor over-supply or substituting capital for labor) in certain sectors, namely urban services, specific types of small-scale industry and agriculture, options are in fact limited. Immigrant workers meet the needs of these industries and sectors, and in fact may provide the competitive edge necessary for survival (Castells, 1975). Immigrant labor is cheap and it is flexible.

The impact of the first job experience on subsequent adjustment to the United States is critical. In effect, this experience levels preexisting class differences; immigration makes the immigrant declasse. Because of the organization of the secondary labor market and its historical context immigrant workers are functionally equivalent to native minorities (cf. Sasoon-Koob, 1979). In effect, minority status is imposed on the immigrant community, and with it come all the social, cultural and political ramifications associated with minority groups. Immigrant workers thus begin the process of adjusting to life in America under a considerable disadvantage not because of any inherent cultural differences or handicaps but because the receiving society imposes these distinctions and defines them as disadvantaged.

Coping with immigrant/minority status is a complex process. We are analyzing second and subsequent jobs in an effort to ascertain what strategies are available and what factors account for using one strategy as opposed to another. The data is incomplete; in some cases we lacked the time depth needed to acertain the pattern because of the recency of immigration. Moreover, we have not identified all the relevant factors operative in the sorting out process and thus what follows is preliminary.

The specific experiences that emerge from the data are essentially four in number. These are: (1) remaining in the secondary market; (2) shifting from the secondary to the primary market's subordinate segment or to (3) its independent sector; and (4) becoming an entrepreneur. In analyzing which strategy is likely to develop, age at the time of entry on to the U.S. labor market and, to a lesser degree, level of education acquired in the native country, are critical factors. Obviously the least desirable strategy is to remain in the secondary labor market. Female immigrants, particularly those who entered the U.S. labor market at mid-life with little formal education and extensive family obligations, fall into this group. The males in this group were similar to females but there were fewer of them. Participation in ethnic organizations was not found, although an active religious life was common. Bouts of unemployment or total withdrawal from the labor market were common. Use of public services was somewhat more extensive than among other immigrants but other than unemployment insurance there was no clear usage pattern.

The second set of experiences involved a move from the secondary to the primary labor market. The literature on dual labor markets divides the primary market into at least two major segments, a subordinate and independent subsegment. The subordinate segment is marked by both production and clerical,

sales and administrative positions in mass production industries and in large retail, utility and manufacturing firms. The level of skills required for these jobs is not inherently distinct from that of the secondary labor market, but this sector is unionized and advancement is defined by either a union or a firm hierarchy. Among our cases entry to this sector occurred before age 30 with, minimally, a high school education, and often some technical or university training. Most respondents were married and already had several dependents. It is not clear exactly why entrance to this labor market became a possibility only after employment in the secondary sector. Legal status may be relevant. Whether or not entry to the U.S. occurred with a work visa or status had to be adjusted after entry may affect the specific time at which the primary labor market becomes an option. Often some formal language training is obtained, either in publicly supported adult education programs or more commonly in private language schools. Entrance was at a low level of the occupational hierarchy but we do not know how far immigrants can rise on specific career ladders. The companies most likely to offer employment are in the fields of insurance, banking, and export-import, and occasionally public or private social welfare agencies. Union membership was almost universal and religious affiliation was common. Some religious affiliations had a clear "ethnic" component, (e.g. Korean Protestant Churches and the Greek Orthodox Church) but others did not. Social ties within a form of ethnic community was indicated by membership and active participation in regional associations especially among Greeks and Asian Indians.

The independent primary sector is marked by skill requirements usually associated with advanced or specialized schooling. It includes professional,

technical and some types of specialized clerical and sales personnel. Among our cases two categories of persons were able to find jobs in this segment of the labor market. The first was drawn from the group whose first jobs were in the secondary labor market, but were young at the time of entry to the U.S., under 25 years of age and most often they had no dependents. Many had to redefine, retool, or revalidate job or educational credentials acquired in the native country. In some instances this meant a continuation of previous career trajectories; in others a totally new field but in either case additional education was required. The most frequently chosen higher educational institutions were public colleges: Queens, Hunter, Baruch and City College. Among the cases where retraining did not occur, (i.e. among those with advanced specialized degrees at entry) current positions did not match aspirations. Positions were often age inappropriate, and/or skill inappropriate. Expectations had been high, actual experience less than rewarding, but attitudes fatalistic. The other group employed in the primary labor market was involved from time of entry. Because they had long work records career trajectories were easier to examine. Although there were exceptions, employment in the public sector was common but this path was not seen as entirely satisfactory. Failure to advance as quickly or as far as they had hoped was frequently attributed to continued discrimination due to their "foreign" status.

The fourth set of experiences involved some form of entrepreneurship. Generally the age at which the first business was opened was the late 20s or more. Educational levels varied from a high school education or less to a post-graduate specialized degree. In several instances other strategies had been tried and found wanting. Moreover there were two distinct variants of this strategy: "ethnic" entrepreneurship and general entrepreneurship. Simply stated the difference is between those who cater to

"ethnic" and/ or immigrant status (ethnic restaurants, some types of food and apparel shops, travel agencies, shipping firms, some appliance shops, special printing shops) and those that do not. The latter group are subject to high failure rates, the former vary with regard to their success.

In a certain sense, specific categories of professionals can also be regarded as engaging in a form of "ethnic entrepreneurship." For example, "ethnic entrepreneurs" could include medical practitioners whose clientle is drawn from ethnic/immigrant neighborhoods in Queens and who often also serve in part-time or consultancy posts in municipal hospitals that cater to minority and ethnic populations. Other examples might be immigration lawyers, psychological clinicians and even accountants whose businesses depend on the immigrant influx. Immigration creates new and distinct types of demands for products and services.

The highest levels of involvement in formal ethnic organizations were found among "ethnic entrepreneurs," including professionals, and others employed in the independent subsegment of the primary labor market. Membership extended to ethnic professional and business associations as well as comparable non-ethnic organizations, ethnic voluntary organizations, ethnic political and social service organizations and occasionally more general political organizations. There appears to be a minimal income level associated with this kind of activity but there also may be a ceiling to it.

Ethnic groups, strategies and identities do not arise in a vacuum; external forces heavily influence the way ethnicity is expressed and by whom. Unfortunately the models that have been used to analyze the immigrant experience a priori define both the boundaries of ethnic groups and the content of ethnic identity in ways that are not necessarily valid for this immigrant wave. Currently in the United States ethnicity has become "a basis for

asserting claims against government" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:10) and thus groups are pressured to organize ethnically. Such pressures, however, operate selectively so that specific segments of a given population are more likely than others to exhibit an ethnic organizational focus. Our research has indicated that although support systems with an "ethnic" dimension are found generally among immigrant populations, the specific type of support system varies with socioeconomic status. The most self-conscious ethnic identities and organizationally defined forms of ethnicity were associated with higher socioeconomic status, specifically professionals, kindred workers and some types of entrepreneurs. Why these groups as opposed to others should exhibit this pattern is not at this time possible to determine. However, it is clear that public sector plays a vital role in the lives of these immigrants. It directly provides jobs for some and, indirectly, government input is important because many are employed in the independent sector of the primary labor market. The state's input into the independent sector of the primary labor market are formidable (Edwards, 1979). Moreover, the public university system has been critical in preparing many immigrants for this labor market and others. Although research on the various forms of immigrant entrepreneurs is not extensive, it is possible that indirect government inputs are critical elements in determining the success or failure of specific types of business ventures. Thus it appears that "ethnic" claims are often articulated by the groups most likely to be affected by continued state inputs into the economy.

This fact does not make these claims less legitimate. Although immigrants are not <u>inherently</u> disadvantage, their experiences in the U.S. frequently place them in a disadvantaged position. They enter the U.S. labor market and are stripped in very real ways of pre-existing socioeconomic status. This disjunction between socioeconomic status in the country of origin and the

actual experience in the U.S. suggests that many experience, at least in their own terms, a form of downward social mobility. We are collecting and analyzing data on socioeconomic position here and abroad so as to more specifically define the types of social mobility immigrants actually experience. Minimally we can say that for whatever reasons they come to the U.S., for many realizing their aspirations is a very real and immediate problem because of the existence of an immigrant/minority equation. This fact may promote a tendency among immigrants to emphasize their sociocultural distinctiveness because minority status is not entirely negative in its implications for social mobility. There have been a variety of government sponsored efforts to rectify or mediate the disadvantages associated with minority status. Whether such efforts have been successful is questionable but the mere existence of such programs pressures immigrants, among others, to emphasize their differences from others and their disadvantaged position. Although we are not in a position at this time to define the precise ways in which ethnicity facilitates or impedes social mobility, it is clear that social mobility in America is increasingly a group strategy, one defined in terms of an ethnic group dimension (cf. Bryce-Laporte, 1977).

Conclusions and Directions

Over the last ten months we have examined the type and place of ethnicity in the lives of immigrants to the Borough. A preliminary analysis of our data indicates that there are external pressures to define and organize as an ethnic community and that one of the reasons for this may be related to the way ethnicity is instrumental in promoting social mobility. Although external pressures come to bear most directly on specific groups, generally there are pressures to articulate sociocultural dissimilarity. For some of the groups we are studying, earlier waves of immigrants provide "ethnic" allies; for others the process of

organizing politically is new, slow and difficult. In either case, the practical implications of the situation are that the political field is replete with "ethnic" tensions and that there is little likelihood of a dimunition of such tensions and contrasts in the foreseeable future. Open pluralistic competition is not inherently negative or disruptive although there is always the danger that orderly competition can translate into more direct and less socially desirable forms of competition.

The research strategy will continue to emphasize the collection of qualitative aggregate data as one of the prime goals of the research is to provide descriptive data on the assimilation of this wave of immigrants. Although we are aware of the problems of statistical representativeness of this kind of research, we believe that the quality of the assimilation experience can best be captured by exposing its humanistic content. It is expected that this research format will provide the context in which to develop meaningful quantitative instruments through which the generality of experiences can be assessed.

In the coming months we plan to continue to examine the place of ethnicity in the lives of immigrants to more clearly specify the precise ways "ethnic" identities and organizational forms are instrumental in social mobility. As mentioned previously, movement up the status ladder in the U.S. has in the past involved changes in self-identity from ethnicity to social class (Spiro, 1955). In a similar vein Cohen (1969) states that, "If status cleavages will cut across ethnic divisions, then the manifestations of ethnic identity and exclusiveness will tend to be inhibited by the emerging

countervailing alignment of power" (193-194). This does not appear to be the case for the latest wave of immigrants or perhaps it is more accurate to say that the relationship between social class and ethnicity for this immigrant wave is not well understood. A major focus of this research is to examine the relationship between social class and ethnic strategies and identities, particularly those that have implications for the organization and character of the political arena. Moreover, because the behaviorial correlates of socioeconomic standing are numerous this research focus is critical for the identification of social problems and the formulation of public policy.

We have found that despite the pressures that promote the emphasis of sociocultural dissimilarity that there are critical commonalities in experiences among immigrant groups. Within Queens, and especially within the immigrant sector, there are Korean, Greek, Colombian, Israeli, Asian Indian and Italian families who share, not only among themselves but possibly with other non-immigrant members of the community, expectations and goals. Although each group will undoubtedly continue to emphasize and promote its distinctiveness, each group's concerns, expectations and experiences are not as distinct as they would suppose. We believe that the Queens College community can best continue to serve its changing constituency in the same spirit of academic excellence as it has in the past by offering the support which will allow for the realization of goals and by promoting an understanding of the fact that the assumed differences frequently mask common experiences.

Notes

[1] We have kept citations to a minimum in order not to interrupt the flow of the text. A short bibliography is appended that includes not only some of the major works consulted. The actual literature is far more extensive than is indicated.

[2] Some of the organizations included are not specifically "ethnic" or "immigrant" in their focus. However, most have been contacted and have indicated that they are involved with immigrants in one way or another. Among Israelis, for example, there is little in the way of an organized ethnic community but many Jewish religious organizations attempt to provide services to Israeli immigrants, albeit often unsuccessfully.

[3] We have assumed, and I believe correctly so, that organization specifically designed to meet the needs of ethnic and immigrant population locate themselves in areas where there is some concentration of the population. This is particularly true for organizations that were founded after 1970 as many of those in our sample were.

[4] The judgments made were preliminary and often quite subjective. We are in the process of collecting additional data on geographic distribution by surveying local institutions for material on the population composition of their areas. For example, all school districts have been asked to provide us with data on the major languages spoken in the school populations. At the time of writing, this data and similar information had not been completely collected or analyzed.

[5] In many interviews respondents were asked about the ethnic composition of their blocks. There appeared to be no indication of blocks segregated according to ethnic or immigrant population.

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